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has the right of sleeping with the man that night, *dowrah*, says to him: "I grant thee furlough, now go to thy wife over there! *ana msâmḥatk eršed 'enda maratk hunâk.*" But should the man infringe the right of one of his wives and spend several nights with the other, the deceived woman may rage as much as she will, but it will not do her any good, especially if her husband has paid to her kin the price asked for her. If a near relative of the woman dies, the man may and even should have intercourse with her for several nights, to comfort her in this way at least. During her monthly period, *'alejha-l-ḥejz*, the man must not touch the woman for from three to five days, and not for forty days after the birth of a child. During the monthly period the woman cooks and eats with the others as usual. If a man wants to beget a boy, he must have intercourse with a woman on the night of Thursday to Friday, *ǧâma'aha lejlt al-ǧum'a*, as the name of Friday, *ǧum'a*, recalls sexual intercourse, *ǧemâ'*.

595 833 [841 846] [842]

TREATMENT AND DUTIES OF WOMEN

The rôle of the woman is to bear and bring up children, to prepare the meals, to sew, and to pitch, strike, and load the tents, *teḥajjeṭ, tebni, tarmi, tešil al-bejt*; also to load up the entire outfit of the tent, to collect the camel's hair and weave from it the bags and various saddle ornaments, *tenṭa'*, to procure water, *trâwi*, to gather fuel, *teḥaṭṭeb*, to go out to buy wheat and barley, *tesfer*, and to supply the mare with fresh *šiḥ* and *naṣi, tešajjeḥ w-tehušš lal-faras*, etc.

562 462

The man who loves his wife helps her in all these labors. He never lets her pitch, strike, or load up the tent alone, but along with his herdsman, servants, and sons always aids her. The camels carrying the supplies are guarded on the march by a servant or slave, the master or his son once in a while coming to see whether any of the pack camels needs help. Hauling water from a distant well is likewise usually the work of the son, servant, or herdsman; the master himself in this case drives out the herd to the pasture. A careful husband often loads two or three camels with fuel, especially dry branches and small stumps of *raṣa* or *arṭa* — all this to save his beloved wife labor. Even the grass and hay is brought in by the sons and servants.

562 462 593

562 On the other hand, a man not on good terms with his
462 wife lets her do all the work herself, urging her on to greater
speed all the time. When the whole camp is on the move,
593 the man saddles both his mare and camel, lights a fire near
his tent, makes coffee for himself, and watches his wife with
the servant or daughter strike and load the tent, furniture,
and supplies. When this is done, he attaches the mare by the
rein to the camel, mounts the latter, and rides forward to
the head of the moving camp where he joins the warriors,
salaf, not troubling in the least about his pack camels. On
arriving at the new camping ground he selects a place for
his tent, takes off the saddles from the animals, leans against
the camel saddle, and waits for his wife to come and pitch
the tent, spread out the rugs, and bring fuel. Only when all
this is done will he enter the tent, build a fire, and make
his coffee. Thus he acts the master until a reconciliation with
the wife takes place; then he helps her again.

562 When guests arrive in the man's absence the woman
says to them: "See, O guests, the master of this tent is not
574 at home, *tarâkom jâ ẓujûf râ'i-l-bejt mâ hw ḥâẓer*." Then she
brings into the part of the tent reserved for the men fuel
and red-hot coals, gives the guests the canister with coffee
beans, water, and the coffeepots, and then returns to the
women's compartment to prepare supper. When this is ready,
if the herdsman or the servant is not back by that time, she
calls the youngest of the guests or the one she knows to be
the lowest in rank and hands him the dish with the food to
carry to the others. If the wife is acquainted with the guests,
she joins them after supper, drinks coffee with them, and
amuses herself in their company till midnight.

DIVORCE

586 The husband cannot be compelled to divorce his wife;
there are no reasons which would either require or prevent
it, *en ṭalležha 'ala kejf*. If he wants to divorce her he can
do so without telling her the reason, even should she beg him
on her knees to keep her. Often he does not know the reason
himself, for he has none. He simply takes a notion to divorce
her and he does so, even though he may regret it soon after-
586 wards. This is done most frequently by the younger chiefs
557 who for political reasons are obliged to advance themselves
622

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become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Mišref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭla' min šowr abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḥâlef šowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥeğra*, and would not allow Mišref to come near her. After becoming Mišref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Mišref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *za'lâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *(fûti-la-l-beji)*." The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

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586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she has stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâğe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *leha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

851 584 [695] with three witnesses and, appealing to the judge there, laid his case before him and asked him for his decision. The judge took a long iron spoon used in roasting coffee, stuck it in the fire, and, when it became red-hot, asked the witnesses to examine Ḫalaf's tongue. As soon as this had been done, the judge quickly lifted the hot spoon to Ḫalaf's mouth. Ḫalaf licked its red-hot part, rinsed his mouth with water, and showed his tongue to the witnesses anew. As the tongue was not burned, they declared Ḫalaf's oath to be true. The judge, *al-mballe'*, received from the latter fifty *meğîdijjât* ($45) as his fee. Ṭrâd was acknowledged to be his son, and an-Nûri's daughter kept her single state, because, Ḫalaf's son not being her cousin, Ṭrâd had no claims on her.

834 562 A married woman, *mara berḳubat raǧǧâl*, has plenty of opportunity to make the acquaintance of other men. Divided from the men's part of the tent by only a low, thin, almost transparent partition, she can observe and hear all the visitors and guests who call. While the tribe or clan is migrating she is often joined by some member of the clan, or at least of the camp, who helps her to pack, to lift, or to tighten the loosened loads; accompanies her on trips for water, fills the water bags, and ties them to the water saddle; sometimes he meets her as if by accident when she is bent under the burden of dry fuel, loads it on his mare or she-camel, throwing it down only when the camp is reached; altogether there are countless accidental meetings of this sort. But that man ingratiates himself with the woman most of all who defends her and her camels when attacked by the enemy on the march. To such a protector her heart is given.

586 837 Of her love for another man no secret is made by a woman, and soon it is said publicly: "So and So's wife is in love with So and So, *marat flân ḥawjânaten 'ala flân*." If this comes to the husband's ears and he is a man of a magnanimous disposition, he releases her without raising objections and asks no compensation, although he is entitled to the return of the dowry he had given for her. A man of this kind is wont to say: "She is a free daughter of a free tribe. Allâh made her love another man, so I will not hinder or make a slave of her." It is only the base men, *arâḏîl an-nâs*, who take advantage of their wives' love to benefit themselves, asking five and even ten times as much as they themselves had paid. Such a demand is called *bejje*. If his wife's lover

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"Go to So-and-So and get an abatement of the blood price for us!" 628

To this the chiefs generally agree readily. They call on the avenger proper, who according to custom prepares a meal for them and invites them to eat, with the words: "Say the name of Allâh over your meal, *sammow 'ala zâdkom*"; they answer:

"We shall not do so before thou givest us what we have come for, *ḥenna mâ nesammi kowd alli ḥawwalna leh tanṭejnah*."

"May Allâh preserve your life! Whatever ye may wish stands before you. *Ḥajjâkom allâh alli tabṛûn 'enda waǧhakom*."

Here the first chief interjects: "How many she-camels wilt thou give to me?"

"I will give thee five!"

"O Allâh, dost thou esteem me so low?"

The host obligingly raises his offer. The other chiefs, too, ask for something and then declare that they will present all the animals they receive to the culprits.

No chief or surety must ask or accept compensation for aiding those who carry on the blood feud in defense of the culprit, for that would stain his honor. His sole reward is the public acknowledgment that he has been instrumental in doing good, *msajjer ḥsane*, and preventing fresh shedding of blood. The guilty party show their gratitude to their protectors in various ways. They like best of all to raise a white flag over the tent of the culprit proper, where they leave it for several days and ride around the camp shouting: [677]

"May Allâh whiten So-and-So's face! may he exalt his name both in this world and hereafter!"

The returning culprits are welcomed by their fellow tribesmen with equestrian mock battles, merry feasting, and cries of joy, *zarârit*. For do not they return who might have been lost forever?

The blood price of a man, *medda rkaba*, from a related tribe is one mare, fifty she-camels, and a complete rider's equipment. For the blood of a woman no more than twenty-five she-camels is paid, because a woman is never valued as highly as a man, *mâ hi miṯl az-zelema nâḳeṣa 'an az-zelema*. The compensation for a man from an alien tribe is only seven camels. [435 562]

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SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 672 562 614 602

The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never persecuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be spared.

Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmiha berḳubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-šarrha laḥalha*. The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿid ʿan al-ḥejr žerib ʿan al-meẓarra*." If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh*, she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

683 843 628

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands compensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she miscarries, *ramat*, before the seventh month of her pregnancy, while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat*, and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 628 562

The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to

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her kin, who may not demand it. Since he has bought her, she 682
becomes his property, and he may punish her even by death 628
sikṯha wa-ṯarajṯha ẖra. However, her kinsfolk investigate the 562
reason for her death and take vengeance on him if they think
the motives insufficient.

The father who kills his son or daughter is responsible 682
to nobody, as his children are his property, *mulk*.

If a son kills his father or mother, no avenger will rise 593
against him, but he must leave his clan or tribe forever. The
same is true of a daughter who murders one of her parents.

There is no blood price if a chief, or any Bedouin, kills 682
a member of some other tribe who, happening to be in camp
at the time a raid was being planned against an alien tribe, 672
gave warning to the latter for payment. A hired traitor, *naḏir* 628
or *haddám*, may be killed without fear of vengeance.

When a camp guard observes a man at night creeping close to the tents or herds and calls to him: "Who art thou, fellow, before I do something terrible? *waš ent jâ zelema žabl al-waḥama*," and the unknown man instead of answering starts to flee, the guard may shoot him without being liable to vengeance. He that sights a thief in his tent at night and shoots or kills him is, likewise, immune from vengeance.

He who rides through the desert on a dark night and wounds or shoots dead a robber who has assaulted him, will not fall under the ban of vengeance but has to prove that he acted in self-defense.

For violating a virgin the offender may be killed with 836
impunity by any one of her kin. Should any one attack the 684
virgin's avenger, he would be destroyed by his own kin. The
honor of the virgin demands it, *maŭja-l-'arṣ*.

A husband who sees a strange man with his wife pretends 684
to see nothing but steals after him and, if nobody is near, 628
kills him. The kin of the murdered man, although they pretend
to seek out the slayer, are very careful not to attack the
husband of the woman with whom the murdered man had
illicit relations. Their kinsman was killed as a thief or robber,
and they do not wish to blacken his face by forcing the husband to disclose what he has witnessed. Hence, pretending to
seek out the slayer, they actually divert attention from him,
while ostensibly showing their willingness to avenge their
kinsman.

A culprit while asleep must not be killed by an avenger, ∞∞

768 428 share of her husband's property is three she-camels, so called *nežîle* (pl., *nežâjel*), that is, the first as the price of her womb, *ḥakk baṭnaha*, in which she carried her sons; the second as the price of her breasts, *ḥakk ḏajdaha*; and the third as the price of her hip, on which she lay while suckling them, *ḥakk maṭnaha*. Besides these she takes a fourth camel as the price of her husband, whom she served till his death. When this widow dies, the fourth camel, *ḥakk rukubatha*, is inherited by her kin while the first three, *nežâjel*, fall to the kin of her late husband.

When a man dies leaving only married daughters, each of them is entitled to two she-camels out of the estate, one on account of the dowry, *sijâḳ*, which was paid for her, and the other in remembrance of the father.

428 ●[562] The right of inheritance, *ḥakk al-warṯa*, is vested in sons alone. The eldest selects first two she-camels called *mḥawwa w-ḥaziza*, then the others take one each, then the eldest son takes another camel, and so on until all the camels are divided. The mare, too, goes to the eldest; its first filly to the second; its second to the third; while the fourth son will get the filly of that which went to the second. The tent itself belongs to the youngest brother, its whole internal equipment to the eldest. Every daughter is given two she-camels, *wârda w-ṣâder*, going for water and returning with it, or *halûba w-rakûba*, milking and riding.

In case the sons will not divide the estate but use it in common, *elja' taḥâšerow*, the eldest offers a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥîšer*, common sacrifice.

When an uncle on the father's side dies without male issue, all that he leaves belongs to his nephews. If the eldest of them rides his uncle's mare on raids and captures horses or camels, he must not keep them. The mare was owned by the uncle, and to his estate belongs the booty, in which, therefore, all the nephews share. Should they divide the estate among themselves but after some time agree to administer it in common, the eldest immolates a *ḏabîḥt al-ḥîšer*, common sacrifice. He also offers a sacrifice on the day of commemoration for all who have departed that year.

[429]

421 562 428 A married woman may have her own estate. This comes either from her kin or her husband's or from her savings. All that she has bought from her savings she can sell at will, but, as to her other property, she must be directed by the will

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of her husband or her *ahl*. After her death her son inherits all that came from her kin. the rest goes to her husband. 421/ 56 428

A father can leave his property to his daughters if he has no son, but he must appoint a guardian for them, who is also called father. This is done with the words: "Behold, I exclude the flesh and blood from which I descend. Thee I appoint to be the father of my daughter (or daughters). My whole estate I present to my daughter. My relatives of the flesh and blood from which I descend must take nothing from her. Thou wilt see to it. But on the commemoration day of all faithful departed, *ẓahijje*, my daughter should not forget me." In case this daughter marries, her property is inherited by her son, or, if there is no son, by her *ahl*; her husband can claim nothing. 429 428

The right of inheritance belongs to all relatives up to the ninth degree, *rā' tis'a ǧdūd jaret*. In the absence of lawful heirs, that is if the kin has entirely died out. *temši 'alejhom ad-dinja' mā jeṣall kūd al-ḥurme*. the woman most nearly related to it receives whatever estate is left and is bound to a sacrifice on the *ẓahijje* day.

Jā waxxeti wannet jetīm
'okb al-ẓala' 'ammeh walāh
jaṣiḥ w-jowmi beš-šelīl
w-jaḳūl walli min ḥaja'

This is the lament of an orphan
Who, having lost his father, receives orders from an uncle.
He gives the alarm cry, waves the hem of his cloak,
And says to himself: 'Vanish from life.'

Al-ẓala' is a father who appointed a brother of his to be the guardian of his son. The orphan, dissatisfied with his guardian, sights the enemy. Giving the alarm cry, he waves his mantle in the direction of the approaching danger and encourages himself, *nesmeh* or *nafseh*, to resist the enemy even at the risk of losing his life. In the latter event, at least, his mourning for the loss of a dear father would cease. 429